India

FOR THE

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE latest telegram from the Viceroy regarding the famine is dated Monday last (September 9), as follows:—

Rainfall has been concentrated in Burma, Bengal, Central Provinces, and North-Western Provinces. Elsewhere rainfall light and scattered. Very little rain in Southern Punjab, Gujerat, Deccan, and Madras (South), where it was most required. Crops are withering in Hissar, Kathiawar, and Baroda: and prospects now not so good in Madras, where poorer classes are hard pressed and good early harvest much needed. Complaints have been received from Bombay Deccan, where, however, cotton promises well. Excessive rain has caused damage in part of Central Provinces. Elsewhere prospects are favourable, and there is a marked improvement in Upper Burma. Slight rise of prices in Madras (South), Madras and Bombay Deccan; falling Gujerat and Khandesh; elsewhere there is no change. Number of famine relief recipients shows a decrease of 31,000 in Bombay (half by reduction of number receiving charitable relief). Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 374,000; Bombay Native States, 37,000; Baroda, 27,000; Haidarabad, 6,000; Central India States, 5,000; Central Provinces, 4,000; Mysore, report not received. Total, 453,000.

It will be seen that there is still cause for grave anxiety.

The current number of the "Spectator" contains a letter from Mr. Andrew McKaig, of Rewakantha, upon the probability of another famine in Gujerat this year. The writer refers to the destructiveness of rats, and adds:—

Now that there is hope that the Government will take some step with a view to enquiring into the cause of the chronic famine in India, it would be well if those who live in famine districts should allow their views to be known. I do not for a moment think that scarcity of rain or a plague of rats is the real cause. We must go further than this to the root of the matter. There is very little doubt that the true cause will be found (1) in the poverty of the mass of the people, the cultivators, caused by (2) the increasing wealth and greed of the Vanya class. To put it in a few words, the perpetual famine in India is caused by the avarice of the Vanya. The Vanya, or Bania, has been truly called the "Jew of India." They are the grain merchants, and are nearly all rich, many very rich.

But does Mr. McKaig go far enough? He sees the poverty of the mass of the people, and he sees that they are becoming more and more the prey of money-lenders. But has he asked why they are driven to the money-lenders? It is not from perversity, but because they have to meet demands upon them, and the chief demand is from the revenue-collector.

Mr. McKaig's proposal is that the local authorities should take the place of the money-lender. On this the "Spectator" remarks, sensibly enough:—

The world has always been inclined to attribute scarcity of food to grain-merchants and moneylenders, but the world has never been able to get on without them, for the very good reason that they are necessary parts of the economic machine. At the same time, there are good moneylenders and bad, and the bad may cause terrible evils. The system lately tried in Egypt by Lord Cromer for dealing with the moneylending problem has been very successful. We trust that something of the same kind may ultimately be found applicable to India.

After many postponements something is at length being done in this direction. Meantime we make a note of Mr. McKaig's testimony regarding the increasing poverty of the mass of the people, together with his remark:—"India is a rich, fertile country, and well able to support its inhabitants if it and they but get a chance."

The "Times of India's" indefatigable correspondent, "J," writing about the Bombay Land Revenue Bill (August 24), says that "between 30 and 40 per cent. of our poorer occupants of the soil are at this moment in the lowest depths of wretchedness and despair, and no responsible Government alive to its responsibilities in the matter will, or indeed can, afford to put aside the question of restoration measures of special relief." "Never, perhaps, in the history of Western India was there a task of greater magnitude and difficulty imposed on the Presidential Government." How painful, then, to find that the ameliorative measures are based on a grave misjudgment of facts. "J" writes:—

Our complaint is that the whole economic situation is grievously misapprehended and misjudged at headquarters, and that a scheme of restoration relief is formulated based on a deplorable misinterpretation of the phenomenon, which, strange as it may appear, seeks to help the broken rayat and ameliorate his lot by lowering his status, annihilating his credit, and leaving him weakened and diminished incentives to exertion and improvement. He is set down as an improvident borrower—who only borrows when he must, and under stress of hard necessity. His difficulties —which, sincere though they are, are due not so much to his want of thrift and prudence, as to seasonal vicissitudes and oft-recurring droughts on the one hand, and, on the other, to the heavy pressure of the State demand on his lands—are all exclusively attributed to his improvident extravagance and reckless borrowing. His patient and manly struggles during the past decade to hold his own and maintain his standard of life in the face of formidable odds are ignored; and his increased indebtedness, so unavoidable under the circumstances, is taken by itself and made a ground of serious charge against him.

"J" naturally considers that the remedy devised on such misapprehensions is "an essentially unsound way of dealing with the hard actualities of a hard economic situation, against which the Presidency will be justified in entering its most emphatic protest."

Another correspondent of the "Times of India," who is probably a judge in a country district, examines the Bill drastically. He says his duties have brought him every day into contact with agriculturist debtors and sowkars. The Bombay Government, he mentions, "do not seem to have consulted the Judicial officers," but only the Revenue officers. He properly complains that the sowkars are all lumped together by Government as a bad lot. From his knowledge of the operation of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, he concludes that "the proposed legislation will (1) stop all improvement of the soil, and will tend to the rapid transfer of (2) lands; and of (3) homesteads from the hands of the agriculturists to those of sowkars, and will (4) increasingly diminish the residue of the annual crop that may remain for the rayat's use after satisfying the demands of Government and the sowkar. In short," he says, "the Government, in its tenderness for the rayat, will have changed him from a unit to a cipher in village society." He suggests some modes of bringing relief to the homes of agriculturists:—

1. More general spread of primary education.
2. Starting of cheaply but soundly managed agricultural banks.
3. Providing a cheap and easy mode of registration in villages for all bonds and deeds executed by agriculturists.
4. Diminishing the cost of litigation in suits to which agriculturists are parties.
5. In suits against agriculturists by sowkars for money, when such claims are contested, to throw the entire burden of proving payment of consideration on the sowkar.
6. To regulate by law the maximum of the rate of interest that could be awarded in the case of secured and unsecured loans to agriculturists, and to leave it to the court's discretion what rate to allow below that maximum, according to the circumstances of each case.

With these remedies the writer would couple "a kindly disposition towards the rayats regarding the collection of revenue by Government in bad or indifferent seasons."

Some 2,300 inhabitants of Salsette addressed a strong Memorial (August 13) to the Bombay Government against the Land Bill. They express deep regret that, "at a time when every help in the shape of remission and suspension of revenue of a liberal kind ought to characterise" the Government, "advantage is being sought to be taken of the extreme helplessness and misery of the rayats." They repudiate the fundamental conception of officialdom that the rayat is a reckless spendthrift, and point out that "the real cause of his poverty and his inability to resist periodical famines lies, not in his spendthrift or reckless habits, but in the excessively heavy assessments and the rigidity and non-elasticity in the mode of levying that assessment." They protest that the Bill "is a very serious encroachment on the existing rights of occupancy holders," and hold "that it was never contemplated by the framers of the Land Revenue Code that a wholesale forfeiture of landed properties would be undertaken by Government on account of default committed in exceptionally heavy times."

If the Bill becomes law, a land improved at a large outlay in good times would be liable to be taken away by Government if their dues thereon could not be paid in a bad year. This would be an ineffable hardship, since Government first disable by legislation the cultivator from mortgaging his land or doing anything to raise money to pay Government dues, and then, taking advantage of his inability to meet Government demands, deprive him of his land.

But they appeal also to the interest of Government itself: for "the cultivator, having an ephemeral interest in the land, can afford to be idle and may not feel himself called upon to put forth his best endeavours either to improve the land or pay Government dues, and at the first touch of famine or distress leave the land and go away undisturbed, thus making Government lose their revenue for that year." Besides, many cultivators, by borrowing on their land, tide over the bad time, when otherwise they would be thrown on the relief works—as is shown by the statistics of the operation of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act.

The "Englishman" (August 22) presents a strangely inconclusive article on the last Budget. Incidentally, however, it shows that it has got hold of a good principle. It says:—

The prosperity of a nation or country is not always synchronous with the prosperity of its rulers or Government. For instance, if the Amir published his accounts, it would doubtless be seen that his financial position is extremely sound, but what about Afghans in general? Similarly a landlord may be extremely rich but his tenants extremely poor, simply because of the excessive rents he exacts. Is India, then, prospering with the Government, or is the Government prospering at the expense of India?

Our contemporary concludes, by a process of reasoning that seems remarkably lame, that "the Secretary of State has a right to congratulate the Government of India on the prosperity of India." It is satisfactory to observe that the "Englishman" has got hold of the deep difference that may exist between the prosperity of Government and the prosperity of the people, and one may hope that further consideration of the vital importance of the coincidence of the two will lead it to a more stringent examination of the grounds of Lord George Hamilton's conclusions.

The Bombay Budget was introduced (August 21) with the inveterate official optimism. It was framed, Mr. Monteath said, "in the expectation of a normal monsoon"; and "we trust," he added, "that the next Settlement will be coincident with the opening of a new era of prosperity." Under the current Settlement, Bombay has received year after year increasing contributions from the Imperial Government: in 1897-98, Rs.18,36,000; in 1898-99, Rs.48,75,000; in 1899-1900, Rs.34,37,000; in 1900-01 (revised estimate), Rs.64,79,000; and in 1901-02 (Budget estimate), Rs.91,00,000. "This state of things," the Hon. Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtula justly remarked, "indicates conclusively how Provincial finances have become embarrassed by the two calamities of plague and famine." The 91 lakhs provided in the current year include Rs.29,32,000 for the anticipated deficit, Rs.20,13,000 for indirect famine charges debited to the Presidency, and Rs.14,40,000, the whole of the plague expenditure. Mr. Rahimtula, therefore, naturally says:—

The question arises whether any useful purpose is served to continue the present system of debiting to Provincial account expenditure incurred in connexion with plague and famine, when recent experience has clearly shown that the amount must ultimately come out of Imperial funds. A simpler plan would be for the Government of India to assume direct liability for these charges.

The Hon. Mr. Mehta and the Hon. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna both urge greater consideration for the Municipality of Bombay, which has gone to enormous expense in discharge of a truly Imperial function in combating the plague.

Sir Bhalchandra earnestly deprecated official optimism. "Such a piece of optimism" (as Lord George Hamilton's account of the prosperity of India), he said, "comes to us in India as a painful surprise"; and he suggested that Lord George might be invited to spend a few days in an Indian village, where he would find a vigorous corrective of optimism. Sir Bhalchandra strongly supported the proposal of a comprehensive enquiry:—

The productiveness of land, the incidence of assessment, the weight of accumulated indebtedness, the improvement of the rayat's credit, the supply of loans on easy terms, the facilities of agricultural improvements, the multiplication of village industries—these and like questions must be grappled with; and to obtain reliable materials, a full and thorough village enquiry ought to be conducted over select areas. I know well it will be said there have been numerous Commissions, but, my Lord, the present situation, brought on by successive famines, has had no parallel in the past, and a fresh enquiry is therefore needed to ascertain the latest results. The success of the remedy to be applied will depend upon an accurate understanding of the situation, and this Government, as the one most nearly interested, ought to support the popular prayer for a fresh village enquiry.

The Hon. Mr. G. K. Parekh followed with a powerful argument in favour of enquiry, especially with reference to Gujerat. After a long detail of grounds for the opinion, "I submit," he said, "that over-assessment is at the bottom of the distress of the Gujerat agriculturist." Within the last twenty months, "there have been several questions about the condition, resources, and capacity of the Gujerat cultivator" on which the Bombay Government have had to alter their opinion: there may be others as well, and not only in Gujerat, but elsewhere.

Last week we referred to the great meeting held in Madras on September 2 to adopt a memorial to the Government of India on the subject of the inadequacy of the funds allotted to the Presidency under the present provincial contract. The grievance is perennial, and there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of its removal. The Governor in Council has already voiced public opinion in as strong terms as the speakers at the recent meeting, and he has also addressed forcible remonstrances to the Government of India. The "Times of India" cites a sentence from the Government of India's reply:—

With reference to this statement (that certain items of expenditure were practically a Madras contribution to the Imperial fisc) and to the statement in your letter that the direct outlay incurred by Government in other provinces is proportionately much greater than in Madras, I am to say that the Government of India not only do not admit the truth of them, but are not aware that at any time any attempt ever has been made to establish them by examination of the facts and figures bearing upon them.

In view of this, we have difficulty in forming any great expectation from the "Times of India's" hope that Madras will find Lord Curzon's Government more inclined to turn a sympathetic ear to its representations. Has Madras set itself to establish its allegations "by examination of the facts and figures"? We should think it had done so before making the allegations. That done, however, it is satisfactory to find the public taking common steps to support the Local Government and to make their opinion felt at Calcutta. This "quinquennial bickering" is unworthy of the Government, and ought to be put an end to. But, we suspect, the only way to put an end to it is to insist on a stringent reduction of the expenditure of the Imperial Government.

Lord Northcote's visit to the Fergusson College, Poona, on August 21, was an interesting one. He met the members of the Deccan Education Society, one of whose founders (in 1880) was Mr. Tilak, and he was received by Professors Gokhale and Selby, to whom he made special

reference in high terms in his speech. "The relations of the Society with the Government," said Lord Northcote, "have, I rejoice to say, been perfectly harmonious for the last three years." So those Poona Brahmins have ceased to be such a terrible source of dread as they were said to be when there were "conspiracies" in the Deccan! It was fitting, of course, that Lord Northcote should speak hopefully of education to the members of an Education Society. "Educational questions," he said, "are peculiarly those in which we are all interested—some of us in a primary scheme, in secondary, technical, commercial, or other branches—but we all aim at raising the intellectual level of the people." He took care, however, not to touch on the astonishing lack of accommodation in the engineering branch of the Poona College of Science, to which is officially attributed the limitation of the number of entrants to 40. Is it not high time for the Bombay Government to do a great deal more for education? Praise of education in the abstract is all very well, but a little more money in practice would be vastly better. Again, Lord Northcote spoke admiringly of the devotion of Mr. Paranjpye, the first Native Senior Wrangler, in giving his services, "practically without fee or reward," to the Society. Yes, but also to Bombay, and to India. And would it not become a beneficent Government to forestall such self-sacrifice, and to place Mr. Paranjpye in a position worthy of his talents?

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., has informed his constituents of North-East Bethnal-green of his intention to revisit India at the beginning of next month. He expects to be in England again early in the new year.

Lieutenant-Colonel P. J. Damania writes:—I think you have commented more than once on what you rightly call the grotesque proposal to teach the dogmas of the Church of England in Government schools in India. There could have been one answer to it, and it is given most clearly by Lord Curzon—once for all. But it raises one question which is of great importance to India. Is it the duty of the Metropolitan of India and other officers of the Ecclesiastical department in India to meddle in any way in an affair of this sort? Is it not their sole duty to look after the religious wants of their own people in India, for which they are paid, and paid most unfairly, from the pockets of the Indian people? The other day the Government of India were sternly reminded by the Secretary of State for some irregularity in submitting the claims of the Cooper's Hill Engineers. It is nothing in comparison with this interference on the part of the Bishop of Calcutta. No man can tell what mischief has been caused even by the suggestion from such a quarter.

The "Gazette" of Tuesday last contained a despatch from Lord Roberts, dated September 4, giving a further list of those who had rendered special and meritorious service in the war. In the course of the despatch the Commander-in-Chief wrote:—

I cannot bring my final despatch to a conclusion without referring in terms of the highest appreciation to the promptitude with which a contingent from India, complete in every detail, was despatched to South Africa in the autumn of 1899. Its opportune arrival saved the situation in Natal. Subsequent demands on India for Native followers, horses, equipment, and clothing were complied with in a way which reflects equal credit on the organisation of the Indian Army and on the loyalty of his Majesty's Indian subjects. I venture to express a hope that the attachment to the Crown and Empire of the Native Princes and gentlemen, who at a critical period rendered valuable assistance, may not pass unrecognised by his Majesty's Government.

The Army in South Africa is under the greatest obligations to their Excellencies the Viceroy and the late and present Commanders-in-Chief in India, also to the Military Department of the Government of India, the Headquarters Staff of the Army in India, the Director of Indian Marine, and the heads of the other Departments concerned.

"Its opportune arrival saved the situation in Natal." Can it be supposed that the white population of Natal will overlook that fact when they come to revise their laws and regulations regarding their British-Indian fellow-subjects in the Colony?

The Tibetan Mission to the Tsar has come and gone, and it still remains "a mystery." A Moscow correspondent of the "Times" describes the tattered condition of the members, who, he says, "arrived in Russia so ill-attended that they were practically without any sort of wardrobe and had garments made for them in imitation of their National dress at St. Petersburg." From this he infers that they were not in a position to make their way home again without Russian aid. When they left Moscow, they were ostensibly going to Irkutsk; but, the correspondent believes, they left the train at Ob, to take boat up the Ob river, and traverse Mongolia. "There can be little doubt," he says, "that the members of the Mission have been escorted home through Mongolia, by way of the Semipalatinsk and Semirechensk territories, by an adequate Russian force," consisting largely of trained intelligence officers, who will not have neglected to pump them. Well, we do not think it matters much, one way or another. There is much more interest in a small paragraph in the "Times of India" (August 24), which states that much internal trouble is in process in Lhassa, the occasion being an agitation for the cessation of the Dalai Lama's concern in the temporal government and his relegation to religious matters alone. Such a separation of functions would be beginning of real progress in the country. "The old jealousy of Chinese influence seems to be reviving," it is said, "though there is but little national spirit among the Tibetans." It is an easy inference to suppose that there may also be some jealousy of Russian, or other, influence. We trust the Tibetans will be let alone, to settle their own affairs in their way. Anyhow, we hope that India will be kept out of any international squabble that may arise in these high latitudes.

The retirement of Sir K. Seshadri Iyer from the post of Dewan in Mysore gives the "Pioneer" an opportunity of pronouncing on the policy by which Native administration was re-established there. As it reminds us, the restoration was looked upon as an experiment "awaited with curiosity by all and with anxiety by many." But the experiment has been justified by the result. It is, in fact, generally conceded "that the generous policy of 1881 has been justified by its fruits." The new Dewan, Mr. Krishna Mutti, a man of ancient lineage and large possessions in the State, bids fair to obtain great popularity. The "Pioneer" notes that in the few months during which he has held office, he has shown a laudable desire for economic administration, such as the present state of the Mysore finances demands.

The malpractices of emigration agents are not dangerous merely because of the suffering caused to the victims and their friends; they constitute, if they remain unchecked, a serious danger to public order and the peace of the country. This is amply borne out by the recent kidnapping scare at Delhi, which has now lasted for ten days. It seems to have had no cause save exaggerated rumours of the doings of these men. On August 2, the whole city was in an uproar and a mob of 700 people set on six strangers, who were suspected of being emigration agents. The six were left unconscious, and taken to hospital. A woman from the country, hearing that boys were being kidnapped, dressed her son as a girl, and herself fell under the suspicion of the crowd. She, too, is in hospital and her recovery is doubtful. Two sepoys were forced to take refuge in the Municipal Hall. Mobs paraded the city at night

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Remittances on India for 35 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and applications amounting to Rs.11,10,85,029 were received at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds and 1s. 4d. The following amounts in bills were allotted—viz., Rs.23,24,000 on Calcutta, Rs.5,70,000 on Bombay, and Rs.6,06,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3.969d. Tenders at 1s. 3d. and 31-32nds will receive about 3 per cent. Last week remittances for Rs.30,42,358 were sold for £202,726, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Tuesday night Rs.8,25,23,653, producing £5,476,697. Next week 35 lakhs will again be offered.

"RIDICULOUSLY ENTHUSIASTIC."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON has suffered swift retribution for the grotesque optimism of his recent speech in the House of Commons in what is called the "Indian Budget Debate." We printed the other day a large compilation of opinions of the British Press which incidentally made it clear that, while a few slipshod writers on Lord G. Hamilton's own side of politics were content to reiterate or to paraphrase his egregious statements, every writer who had taken pains to look into the matter at all deeply saw how superficial and fallacious his reasoning was. He had, in a word, all the journalistic rhodomontade on his side, and all the argument against him. The punishment is repeated, and the lesson is driven home, by the reception accorded to his speech in the friendly columns of the "Pioneer" of Allahabad. Those who are not very familiar with Indian politics may be reminded that the "Pioneer" is the leading Anglo-Indian journal, that it has a quasi-official standing in India, and that the chastisement of a Tory Secretary of State in its pages is not less significant than the same chastisement would be in the editorial columns of the "Times." What, then, does the "Pioneer" say? Its opening sentence is ominous. "The best apology for the pessimist," it writes, "is the existence of the optimist." It admits that it is dealing not with the full text but only with a cabled summary of Lord George Hamilton's discourse or essay, and that in cabled summaries qualifications are apt to drop out. "But even allowing for this," it says, "it is pretty clear that the Secretary of State's remarks on the Indian Budget are ridiculously enthusiastic." That is a tolerably strong expression, and we must suppose that the "Pioneer," before writing and publishing it, had taken due note of the amended law of sedition in India under which it is a criminal offence to utter anything that may bring the established authorities, or any of them, into contempt. But the "Pioneer" proceeds ruthlessly from the general to the particular. The House of Commons in August, it thinks, is "too tired to be critical." But "the Secretary of State need not have made the absurdity of discussing the Indian finances among the odds and ends to be cleared up at the conclusion of a fatiguing Session more absurd still by giving vent to exaggerated utterances which will only serve to give a handle to the enemy." "Ridiculously enthusiastic," "exaggerated utterances"! What language is this, to be sure! We shall not be surprised if, when Lord George Hamilton reads it, he says that the "Pioneer" is doing "permanent harm to the office of which he is for the time being the head," is attacking an absent Minister who "under very difficult circumstances had to perform an unpleasant duty," and is undermining that splendid Service of which every loyal Englishman is proud. One can imagine the emphasis with which this crushing rejoinder would be offered in the House of Commons, and the resounding cheers with which—if the House did not happen to be empty—it would be applauded by dined and devoted Ministerialists.

But to return to the unrepentant "Pioneer." Lord George Hamilton's speech, it thinks, would lead the unversed hearer or reader to believe that the growth of the Indian revenues has been so steady and so rapid that, after all payments for the worst famine and for the requirements of Civil and Military Administration have been made. India has still an uninterrupted series of surpluses to show. (That certainly was the purport of Lord George Hamilton's speech, and its effect was shown nowhere more clearly or more mischievously than in the newspapers it induced to remark upon the absurdity of supposing that India needed charitable assistance from this country in time of famine.) The "Pioneer" takes a different view of the facts. "It need hardly be said," it writes, "that the financial history of the last three years warrants no such comfortable conclusion." The closed accounts, the revised estimates and the Budget are indeed made to show surpluses. But—and we commend this passage to our short-sighted optimists at home—

> it is also true that these surpluses are mainly due to causes which have nothing whatever to do with the growth of the revenue or the prosperity of the country. Had Indian troops not been accidentally absent in South Africa since the autumn of 1899; had an Indian contingent not been in China for twelve months; had silver not, quite contrary to expectation, had to be coined in enormous quantities, and had the Government of India not, contrary to the advice of the Indian Currency Commission, appropriated a large part of the profits for current needs, giving of course an I. O. U. to the Gold Reserve Fund: had the price of opium not unexpectedly risen: had all these fortuitous causes not been in operation, we should have had large deficits instead of surpluses in the last three years, and that, too, after cutting down expenditure on roads and buildings to an injurious extent (£778,000 in the years 1899 and 1900), after retrenching in railway expenditure (2 crores in 1900), and after adding heavily to the permanent debt of the country (we have added seven crores of rupees and four millions sterling to the permanent debt in the three years, only part of which was necessitated by the normal calls for capital expenditure on public works).

The "Pioneer" recognises, of course, that "it is extremely gratifying that we have come through a period of extraordinary strain as well as we have done." "But," it adds rightly, "it is extremely important to realise how the apparent miracle has been achieved." Taking the six principal heads of revenue (Land, Opium, Salt, Stamps, Excise, and Customs) and comparing the actual receipts of 1898-99 with the estimates of 1901-1902, it points out that there is a decrease under three heads (Land, Salt, and Customs) and an increase under three heads (Opium, Stamps, and Excise). The net increase is nearly one million sterling. "But we have to remember that the main part of the increase is due to Opium, and that the permanence of this increment is recognised by experts as extremely doubtful." Altogether, the "Pioneer" believes, "the growth of the revenue which can be reasonably anticipated will barely cover the increasing demands for military expenditure." The conclusion which the writer draws is equally obvious and noteworthy:—

> The true lesson of the financial history of the last three years, in short, is not that there is some mysterious power of recuperation in India on which we can rely, but that if we are to get along without falling into another cycle of deficits we shall require the utmost caution, vigilance, and prudence in the management of the finances of the Empire.

That passage (if one may adapt a phrase of Lord Salisbury's) should be written in letters three feet long over the doors of the India Office.

The "Pioneer" adds some remarks, which are well worth notice, upon the recent abortive issue of three millions sterling of India three per cent. stock. Lord G. Hamilton's reference to this matter, it remarks, "explains nothing on which an explanation was needed, and in this way no doubt completely achieves the object of the speaker."

> In the Budget provision was made (the "Pioneer" continues) for raising a loan of one million sterling in London, and what one wanted to know was the reason for the complete change of programme indicated by the attempt to raise three millions instead of one. There were strong reasons, connected with the state of the London market for gilt-edged securities, for not attempting such a departure from the Budget proposals, and it is charitable to suppose that urgent reasons must have existed to outweigh considerations of this kind. Lord George Hamilton, however, gives no hint on the subject. All he tells us is that "owing to an increase in the estimated surplus he thought he would be able to meet all requirements without difficulty this year." But he has already got pretty nearly the million sterling which, with the remittances to be made from India, was supposed last March to be all he would need: so that it is not clear why "an increase in the estimated surplus" should be required to carry him through.

We commend the remarks of the "Pioneer" to the British Press and the British public. The criticisms which it offers are, in substance, familiar enough to our readers, but in the form of admissions from a witness so friendly to the defendant they should have in the estimation of the jury a weight that does not always attach to the representations of those who are offering evidence in support of an indictment. The Secretary of State, it will be seen, is accused of being "ridiculously enthusiastic," of "giving vent to exaggerated utterances," of concealing the purely fortuitous character of the "prosperity" upon which he dilated so copiously, and of deliberately "explaining nothing on which an explanation was needed." These are grave charges. But are they not just? Is it not manifest that the effect of Lord George Hamilton's speech was to convey a grossly false impression to very many of his hearers and readers? We have but one further question to suggest. Lord George Hamilton is a man of a certain shrewdness, and some of his advisers at the India Office are men of brilliant attainments. How comes it, then, that a statement so essentially misleading emanates from them? Why is the truth concealed? What is it that is apprehended from a frank admission of the facts?

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

LORD G. HAMILTON'S OPTIMISM.

THE BOMBAY LAND REVENUE BILL.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, August 24.

We have been regaled during the week by the special telegram reporting the ecstatic speech of the Great Maharaja of the India Office in the hall of St. Stephen's on the Indian Budget. The feat was indeed worthy of Lord George Hamilton, for it is more than improbable that any other Secretary of State would have so freely and fallaciously enlarged on the romantic prosperity of the country and its people. His optimism had this time run riot with the fortuitous surplus the Government of India was able to exhibit. But even that authority, conscious as it was of the speciousness of that surplus, was modest enough in its exultation. But to judge from the flaming message wired by Reuter it is not difficult to imagine that Lord G. Hamilton metaphorically leapt for joy. We commiserate him here on his condition, and trust that by this time his lordship has regained his equanimity and become alive to the virtues of sober fact. Here there has been none so poor as to do him reverence. On the contrary his optimism has been pronounced by even so friendly a critic as the "Pioneer" as ridiculously absurd. After this withering remark and other condemnatory observations, it is superfluous to say aught more on this subject. But what a solemn mockery is it for a Secretary of State to play such antics in the House of Commons!

Meanwhile, it may be interesting to note that Bombay is being enlivened by the solemn farce just now being enacted in the local Legislative Council. Here, a minor deity, in the person of the junior member of the Council, the Honourable Mr. Monteath, is disporting himself in another fashion. That misbegotten Bill of his, the Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill, has been severely criticised by the people of the Presidency at large. This incident, so unexpected by our heaven-born, has greatly exercised him. And nothing seems to have kindled his wrath more than the protest at the public meeting in the Town Hall about four weeks since. In the opinion of this masterful bureaucrat, the meeting had entirely misunderstood the scope of his innocent-looking little Bill. More, it had deliberately misrepresented the aim and object of the measure. What was conceived as a most beneficent enactment to bring in the millennium for the rayat has been denounced as revolutionary and ruinous! The hon. member is angry that the "inflammatory oratory' of the principal speakers at the meeting should have characterised the Bill in the terms it did. So he had not one good word to say in their favour. Nay, he thought it was a money-lenders' agitation. And poor Lord George Hamilton repeated the Shibboleth. This is the way in which the Honourable, the mover of this universally condemned Bill, gave himself away in the Council, and having thus unburthened himself of his pent-up wrath, he allowed the second reading to be proceeded with. His Excellency echoed the sentiments of his colleague, but as he could have hardly mastered the intricacies of the land revenue problem in a year when people with a life-time's study are not able to fathom it, he may be excused for the speech that was put into his mouth. The debate is still proceeding. The Honourable Mr. Mehta, who moved the amendment to have the Bill sent back to the Select Committee to be reported upon six months hence, gave an effective rejoinder, which, however, has not been yet fully reported. There were other speakers to follow him. But judging from the tone and temper of the Government members it is clear that they mean to persevere with the Bill. Whether they will immediately carry it through, with the help of their majority, or accede to the popular request as echoed by Mr. Mehta, and postpone it for some time, remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that notwithstanding all the eloquence of the hon. mover it will be postponed so that ample time may be allowed for a critical examination of it—such are the intricacies of it. Of course, we are now accustomed to all the official plausibilities and sophistries of the Revenue Department and its blind contradiction of actual facts touching rack-rents, rigidity of demand, and so forth. But nobody is deceived by them. No member more vigorously exposed these than the Honourable Mr. Gokuldas Kandas, whose speech was indeed a masterly one. He took point by point the speeches of the official apologists, analysed their correctness, and exposed their fallacies with the aid of their own official statements and declarations. There never was in the Council a more vigorous vivisection of the entire land revenue policy of the Bombay Government. It is natural it should be at white heat at this powerful opposition. It will be noticed that the honours of all the facts and arguments lay with the opposition. Hollow denunciations were the principal instruments on the official side, so far as the published reports have gone. Of course, as a last resort, the Government counts on its mechanical majority to pass the Bill by hook or by crook. But this fact will once more show how our expanded Legislative Councils are still a sham and delusion. Nothing avails when the Government in its perversity, regardless of wise and reasonable warning, will pass an unpopular measure. To abandon this ill-fated Bill would be tantamount to weakness. And woe be to that Government which displays such weakness before Asiatics. Where would "prestige" be in that case? Such are our heaven-borns in their attempt at agrarian reform. How they beat about the bush! How they seek palliatives, when the root of the disease needs to be thoroughly eradicated! That root is the oppressive burden of assessments and the rigidity of the State demand.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

Thursday, September 5.—The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall left St. Vincent for Quebec in the Ophir.

A Reuter despatch from Pretoria said that so far Lord Kitchener's proclamation had produced no very apparent results, and till the final days of grace had expired it would be impossible to estimate its probable effect. The derailment of trains was reported from Taungs, and from Malalsene on the Delagoa Bay Railway. A telegram from Matjesfontein stated that Scheepers's raid into the south of Cape Colony appeared to have reached its limits, for, being hard pressed by Colonel Alexander, and finding garrisoned towns on every side, he had turned northward again, after securing some recruits and horses. Theron, though he was endeavouring to overtake Scheepers, had not yet succeeded in joining him. Scheepers's force was now estimated at over 800, with 600 horses, and Theron's at about 100.

It was reported from Shanghai that the Rajputs left, reducing the British garrison to one Native regiment. The German garrison, which is 800 strong, was showing great activity and undertaking works which indicated a permanent occupation. The British community strongly resented the situation.

The Trade Union Congress resumed its sittings at Swansea. Resolutions were carried in favour of the creation of a fund to meet the cost of carrying law cases to the final Court of Appeal; of legislation to make foreign shipowners liable for compensation awarded against them to workmen for injuries; of a compulsory examination for persons in charge of steam-engines and boilers; of labour representation; of the holding of a working-men's conference to consider a comprehensive scheme of old-age pensions; and dealing with other subjects.

Friday, September 6. As President McKinley was holding a reception at the Temple of Music in the Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo this afternoon, a well-dressed man with whom he was in the act of shaking hands suddenly drew a pistol and fired two shots into the President's body. One of them struck him in the breast, and the other penetrated the abdomen. The assailant was at once arrested, and identified as a man named Frederick Niemann, who came from Detroit, and had been in Buffalo for about a week. He stated that he was of Polish nationality, and admitted that he was an Anarchist. The wounded President was removed to a hospital in the exhibition grounds. A New York Reuter telegram stated that his injuries were mortal, but according to the latest reports he had recovered consciousness, and was resting easily. The news of the crime caused intense excitement and consternation throughout the United States.

Lord Kitchener, in a telegram of Thursday night, reported that Colonel Scobell, who had been pursuing the Boer commando under Lotter, overtook him early on that morning and captured the entire commando. Of the Boers 19 were killed and 52 wounded and 62 unwounded men were taken prisoners, together with all the baggage of the commando. The prisoners included Commandants Lotter and Breedt, Field-Cornets J. and W. Kruger, and Lieutenant

Schoeman. The British loss was ten killed and eight wounded. A Reuter telegram stated that among the goods captured were 25,000 rounds of ammunition. Mr. Van der Heever, a member of the Cape Legislative Council, was arrested at Burghersdorp on a charge of concealing arms. A Vryburg telegram reported a successful surprise by a patrol under Major Murray of Van der Merwe's laager. Over 100 horses, with stock, vehicles, and ammunition, were captured. The patrol next day defeated Vanzyl's commando, killing two men, and taking eight prisoners and a quantity of live stock.

Replying to a letter of enquiry from Sir H. S. King, M.P., the Secretary for War stated that the percentage of sick among the Boer prisoners in the three stations where they were now interned in India down to July 26 had been 4.39, 2.42, and 3.35. During the period covered by the statistics there had only been one death.

The Trades Union Congress passed a number of resolutions dealing with labour questions. Among the subjects were the amendment of the Workmen's Compensation Act, hours and wages in Government departments, the taxation of land values and mining royalties, adult suffrage for men and women, the amendment of the Mines Regulation Act, and the eight-hour day. Upon one of the resolutions an amendment was moved in favour of the nationalisation of all means of production, distribution, and exchange. Mr. Abraham, M.P., appealed to the Congress to confine itself to what was immediately possible and practicable, and the amendment was lost by a vote representing 685,000 trade unionists against to 264,000 in favour. A proposal to suspend the standing orders to admit of the moving of a resolution on the war was, after some disorder, rejected by a vote representing 724,000 to 333,000.

SATURDAY, September 7.—A bulletin issued last night by the physicians attending President McKinley stated that the bullet which struck him on the breast-bone did not penetrate. The second bullet had entered the abdomen, and passed through the stomach. The openings in both walls of the stomach were carefully closed with silk sutures. No injury to the intestines or any other abdominal organ was discovered. The patient stood the operation well, and his condition after it justified hopes of his recovery. The bullet was lodged in the muscles of the back, and its immediate extraction was not considered necessary. Later bulletins were to the effect that the President had passed a good night, and that his general condition was satisfactory. The chief cause of anxiety was that septic poisoning might set in, but neither of this nor of peritonitis was there as yet any symptom. Mr. McKinley was visited by his wife, and Colonel Roosevelt, the Vice-President, most of the members of the Cabinet, and Senator Hanna arrived at Buffalo. It was ascertained that the real name of the would-be assassin was Leon Czolgosz, that he was of German-Polish extraction, and was born in Detroit. He signed a confession in which he declared that he had no confederate; but this was not believed by the police, and several Anarchists were arrested at Cleveland, where he had lived with his family, and at Chicago. The news of the attempt on President McKinley's life aroused feelings of indignation and sympathy throughout the world, which found expression in innumerable telegrams and messages from Sovereigns, Governments, public bodies, and private persons. King Edward, besides sending an official message through the Foreign Office, telegraphed direct to the President, and similar communications were made by the rulers and Governments of every civilised country. The manifestations throughout Great Britain and her colonies were notably numerous and cordial. The Continental Press, like that of England, was unanimous in its reprobation of the crime and the expression of sympathy with the wounded President.

The Pretoria correspondent of the "Times" said that in order to put a stop to the practice of train-wrecking it had been decided to compel prominent Dutchmen, "whose well-known tendencies caused them to be selected for the honour," to accompany passenger trains running through dangerous districts. Numerous surrenders and captures of Boers had taken place both in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony during the last few days. Several officials of the late Republic and others were arrested in Johannesburg on a charge of espionage and of publishing seditious documents. The arrests were believed to be connected with that of Dr. Krause in London. Lord Milner arrived in Bloemfontein.

Mr. Chamberlain, acknowledging through his private secretary a resolution passed by the West Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, observed that the accounts from South Africa were better, and that, although the resistance of a minority of the Boers might be prolonged for some time, thereby causing great expense and much suffering, especially to the Boers themselves, yet there was no fear of anything like serious military opposition to the occupation of the country.

The Trade Union Congress held its closing sitting at Swansea. The election of the members of the Parliamentary Committee and the delegates to America was announced, and a resolution of sympathy with the people of the United States on the attempted assassination of President McKinley was passed.

MONDAY, September 9.—A bulletin issued at six o'clock this morning stating that President McKinley had passed a rather restless night, though he had slept fairly well, and his general condition remained unchanged, aroused some public anxiety; but later bulletins allayed this feeling, as they declared that the President's condition was becoming more and more satisfactory, that the danger of untoward complications was less likely to occur, and that the patient was free from pain and quite comfortable. In conversation, the physicians took a still more favourable view than was conveyed in the bulletins, and spoke of the President's recovery as well-nigh assured. Messages of sympathy and of gratification at the President's hopeful condition continued to be received from all parts of the world. It was reported from Buffalo that the authorities would endeavour to bring up for trial not only Czolgosz, but the members of the Cleveland Anarchist Society to which he belonged, including the well-known Anarchist Emma Goldman, who recently delivered an incendiary speech, a copy of which was found on the person of the assassin. The decision of the Court in the Chicago Anarchists' case was relied on for the contention that the crime was the result of a conspiracy, and that all the conspirators were equally guilty. In any case, it was pointed out that indictments could be framed against Czolgosz for some five or six separate offences, and that the sentences, if he were convicted, need not be concurrent.

The Paris correspondent of the "Times" said that, according to a telegram received in that city, a German vessel had recently landed a cargo of coal for the German Government on Farsan Island, in the Red Sea, and that Germany, which had already established a coaling station on the island, was seeking to obtain from Turkey a lease of the station.

A Winburg telegram reported extensive captures of Boer convoys, wagons, cattle, sheep, and horses, effected in the Orange River Colony by columns in General Elliot's command. Two Boer laagers at Brandwater Basin and Witkop were also captured, and Steyn's printing press at Fouriesburg was destroyed.

TUESDAY, September 10.—Lord Kitchener, in a telegram of Monday night, said that since September 2 the columns had reported 67 Boers killed, 67 wounded, 384 prisoners, and 163 surrenders, with the capture of 170 rifles, 65,211 rounds of small-arm ammunition, 371 wagons, 3,400 horses, 19,000 cattle and various other stock. Delarey's and Kemp's commandos to the west of Rustenburg scattered without fighting on the approach of columns under Lord Methuen and others, but upwards of 200 prisoners had been collected in this district. Colonels Spens and Rimington had successfully engaged commandos about Senekal. General Elliot's columns had come into Winburg, having been slightly opposed during the move north. To the south of the Thaba Nchu line, Colonel Rawlinson on Saturday found a body of the enemy—probably Kruitzinger's men—in position to the east of Bastard's Drift, and drove them north. The situation in Cape Colony was unchanged, except for the capture of Lotter's commando by Colonel Scobell, and the entry near Herschel of a party which had not yet been engaged by General French's columns.

President McKinley continued to make good progress. He passed a good night, and to-day's bulletins described his condition as eminently satisfactory. While it could not be said that he was yet altogether out of danger, the physicians who had been in attendance upon him were unanimous in the opinion that the probability of unfavourable complications was now exceedingly slight, and that all the indications pointed to a rapid convalescence. Dr. McBurney, the New York specialist, felt able to-day to leave the patient in the hands of the Buffalo physicians, and Vice-President Roosevelt also left Buffalo.

The tenth Universal Peace Congress was opened in Glasgow. Delegates were present from Germany, France, Russia, the United States, Italy, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and Great Britain. Dr. Spence Watson, who presided, delivered an address. He reviewed some of the recent history of the peace movement, and said that notwithstanding the war he was not discouraged. After all, materialism and brute force were not the ideals to which the peoples of the world would ultimately bow down. When the peoples thoroughly understood each other, when the demand came, as he felt persuaded it would come, for universal and permanent arbitration between countries, then their children's children would have cause to bless the work of their fathers. Some of the delegates from the several countries represented in the Congress also spoke. M. Passy, of Paris, said that however strongly the French people felt in favour of oppressed nationalities, they had no animosity against the people of England. They knew that at bottom the English people were absolutely devoted to the cause of liberty and justice.

WEDNESDAY, September 11.—Lord Kitchener, in a tele-

gram of Tuesday evening, reported that Lord Methuen successfully engaged the enemy under Van Tonder and Delarey on September 6 and 8, driving them from a strong position. The Boers lost 18 killed, 41 prisoners, and a quantity of wagons and stock. A Reuter despatch from Matjesfontein stated that on Tuesday morning Colonel Crabbe attacked and completely defeated Van der Merwe's commando at Driefontein. Van der Merwe and another Boer were killed, several wounded, and 37, including Field Cornet Du Plessis, taken prisoners. The British casualties were four killed and three wounded. Major Marshall, who was holding Retief's Nek in the Orange River Colony with the 12th Mounted Infantry, was heavily attacked on all sides on September 3, but was relieved by a force sent by General Barker.

President McKinley continued to make rapid and satisfactory progress towards recovery. Some uneasiness was caused last night by the issue of a bulletin which stated that it had been necessary to re-open the skin of the wound on the patient's abdomen in order to deal with a slight irritation of the tissues, caused by a fragment of cloth having been carried by the bullet into the wound; and that the operation would delay somewhat the healing of the wound. To-day's bulletins, however, were entirely favourable, and the "viva voce" statements of the physicians were still more definite as to the practical certainty of the President's speedy recovery.

GLASGOW INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

LECTURES ON INDIA.

II.—MR. ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E., ON THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF INDIA.

[Special Report.]

The second of the course of three lectures on India, arranged by the Glasgow International Assembly, was delivered on Wednesday evening, September 4, in the Philosophical Institution, Glasgow, by Mr. Romesh Dutt, C.I.E., who took for his subject, Indian Industries, Trade and Agriculture, Railways, and Irrigation, Land Revenue Administration, and Finance.

Mr. Romesh Dutt said: Last Monday, my esteemed and distinguished friend, Sir John Jardine, gave you a general account of that great country which now forms an important portion of the British Empire. He gave you an account of India and its people, told you of the different Provinces into which British India is divided, and also of those States which are ruled by their own Native Princes. And lastly, he told you of the administration of justice in India, in which work he himself took so distinguished a share as a judge of the High Court of Bombay. To-night, we shall look into the state of things in India from a different standpoint. We shall enquire into the economic condition of the people—their industries, their trades, their agriculture. We shall try to ascertain how far the sources of national wealth in India have been developed by railways, and how far the annual harvests of the people have been made safe by irrigation works. We shall examine the incidence of the Land Tax on the agricultural population of India, and the present state of the finances of that country. In a word the material condition of the vast population of India, forming a sixth of the human race, will form the subject of our enquiry this evening.

This is a subject which must always receive the attention of all thoughtful men and women in this country; but recent events in India have invested this subject with a terrible importance. There is not a man or a woman in Great Britain who has not felt grieved by the accounts of recent famines in India. Within the memory of men who are still in their middle age, within the last 30 or 35 years, there have been no less than ten desolating famines, causing the deaths of fifteen millions of people in India. And to-night, when we are assembled in this hall, half a million of people are assembled in the different famine camps in Western India, and that country is passing through its third year of a continuous famine. It is necessary, therefore, that we should enquire somewhat minutely into the material condition of the people of India, and find out how far it is possible to prevent or minimise the effects of famines in India in the future, as they have been prevented in other parts of the British Empire.

I.—Agriculture and the Land Tax.

The material well-being of the people of India, as in every other part of the world, depends on successful agriculture, on flourishing industries, and on a sound system of finance. I take agriculture first, because four-fifths of the population of India depend directly or indirectly on agriculture. It is the main industry of India, the main source of subsistence for the people. This is an important fact which we should always bear in mind in speaking about India. India, to-day, is essentially an agricultural country. If agriculture flourishes, if the crops are safeguarded, if the land is moderately taxed, the people are prosperous. If any of these conditions is wanting, the people must necessarily be on the verge of starvation, and must perish in years of bad harvest.

The land system of India is different from the land system of this country. Here you are familiar with the landlord who owns land, the farmer who holds farms, and the agricultural labourer who is paid by wages and has no permanent rights in the land he cultivates. In India, on the contrary, the actual cultivator, by immemorial custom, had some proprietary and heritable rights in the field which he cultivated. Sometimes, as in Bengal, he lived under his landlord, paying rent to the landlord, but owning his hereditary field from which he could not be evicted so long as he paid the customary rent. In other instances, as in Northern India and in Madras and Bombay, he lived in his village community—that ancient system of village self-government which prevailed in India for thousands of years. The landlord or the village community paid the Land Tax to the State; the individual cultivator paid his rent to the landlord or his share of produce to the community, and held his ancestral field from generation to generation, without let or hindrance. Such was the ancient land system of India—the land belonged to the nation, not to any privileged class.

How has this system been affected by British rule? In Bengal and some other places, the ancient system has been preserved and strengthened. The British Government levies the Land Tax from the landlords, and the amount of this Tax was permanently settled a hundred years ago—between 1793 and 1805. But in Northern India, as well as in Madras and Bombay, where the village community system flourished down to the early years of the nineteenth century, that old institution exists no longer. That ancient form of village self-government has unfortunately perished under the too centralised system of British administration. In Northern India, landlords have taken the place of these communities; in Madras and Bombay, generally, the cultivators are directly under the State. Therefore, if you ask me what is the actual position and status of the Indian cultivator at the present day, I can roughly describe it in one sentence. In Northern India the cultivator lives under landlords, and the landlords pay the Land Tax to the State; in Southern India the cultivator lives directly under the State, and pays the Land Tax to the State. There are exceptions to this general rule, but it will be enough for our purpose this evening to remember this broad distinction. In Northern India it is the landlord who pays the Land Tax to the State; in Southern India it is the cultivator who pays the Land Tax to the State.

Now what is this Indian Land Tax? You are aware that in England a land tax was raised during the wars of the Spanish Succession at the rate of 4s. in the £ of annual value, i.e., 20 per cent. on the rental; and that it was reduced after the Peace of Utrecht to 2s. in the £, and then to 1s. in the £, or 5 per cent. on the rental.

The Land Tax in England varied between these limits, until it was made perpetual and redeemable by Pitt's Government in 1798. For a hundred years, therefore, before it was made perpetual, the Land Tax averaged 10 per cent. on the rental in England. In India the Land Tax ranges between 35 per cent. and 100 per cent. of the rental. Let me explain this to you in a few words.

In Bengal, where the Land Tax was permanently fixed over a hundred years ago, it now bears a proportion of 28 per cent. on the rental of the estates. To this should be added a newer tax of 6¼ per cent., also assessed on the rent, so that the total tax on land in this Province comes to about 35 per cent.

In Northern India, the Government of Lord Dalhousie declared as far back as 1855 its intention to limit the Land Tax to 50 per cent. of the rental. In his own words, the Government was determined "to limit the demand of the State to 50 per cent. or one-half of the average net assets." This was a heavy tax, but it was a clear and definite limit. I regret to state that even this high limit has now been exceeded. A number of new taxes are now surcharged on the Land Tax, and the Land Tax itself is assessed at 50 per cent., not on the actual rental, but on the prospective rental of estates. In other words, if a landlord's rental is £1,200, the Government demands a Tax, not of £600, but may be of £700, on the ground that the rental may rise hereafter. Is this not paltering with the people of India in a double sense, keeping the word of Dalhousie's promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope?

In the Central Provinces of India, Lord Dalhousie's rule of limiting the Land Tax to half the rental was accepted in 1855, but was evaded in 1863. And then the rule was openly abandoned in 1888, and the Government now demands a Land Tax up to 60 per cent. of the rental, in addition to other taxes also assessed on the rent.

Lastly in Madras and Bombay, the rule of limiting the Land Tax to half the rent was also declared in 1856 and 1864, but has been evaded in practice. The Directors of the East India Company wrote in their despatch of 1856 that the "rights of the Government is not a rent, which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only." And after the Company was abolished, Sir Charles Wood, the First Secretary of State for India, wrote in his despatch of 1864 that he desired to take only a share, and generally a half share, of the rent as Land Tax. This is the rule; but in practice the Government often takes one-third of the field produce as Land Tax, and this is not 50 per cent., but approximates to 100 per cent. of the economic rent of the field. For in a small farm yielding £12 a year the cost of cultivation and the profits of the agricultural stock generally exceed £6 or even £7 in the year; and the Government by demanding £4 as Land Tax sweeps away nearly the whole of the economic rent. How is this practice reconciled with Sir Charles Wood's principle? The Government says in effect to the cultivator: My good friend, we assume the cost of cultivation and the profits of agricultural stock to be £4; we assume the economic rent to be £8, and our Land Tax of £4 is therefore half the rent! Is this not, once more, keeping the word of Sir Charles Wood's promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope?

These details are quite enough. They will give you an idea

how the Land Tax is levied in different parts of India, in Bengal, in Northern India, in the Central Provinces, and in Southern India. It is the heavy incidence of the Land Tax, and especially its uncertainty, which has a depressing effect on agriculture, which prevents land improvements and any saving, and impoverishes the people. Whatever the Land Tax may be, let it be clear, definite, intelligible. Except in Provinces where it is permanently fixed, the Land Tax is recognized by the British Government, all over India to be one-half the rent. This rate is recognized by Lord Dalhousie's rule of 1855, by the Court of Directors' despatch of 1856, and by Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1864. This rate is heavy enough in all conscience, but let us at least religiously and conscientiously adhere to this rule, and not seek to evade or exceed it. Thoughtful and moderate Englishmen demand this, and educated and public-spirited Indians desire it also. In December last, a Memorial was signed by a number of retired Indian officials pressing this recommendation on the Secretary of State for India. The Right Honourable Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, was one of the signatories; Sir John Jardine, who spoke here last Monday, was another; and several other retired officials, including myself, signed it. The unrepresented people of India demand from the British Government a faithful observance of those clear and definite rules which were laid down by the Government itself 40 or 50 years ago.

II.—Railways and Irrigation.

Gentlemen, I now turn from the important subject of the Land Tax to the Railways and Irrigation Works of India. The construction of railways has, I need hardly remark to this audience, been highly beneficial in India, as it is beneficial in every other part of the world. It has shortened distances, made travelling and traffic cheaper, and what is of great importance, it has made transport of food grains from one Province to another in times of distress quicker and easier. Nevertheless railways in India have been constructed with doubtful wisdom out of the revenues of the country, or under guarantee of profits out of such revenues. When the State undertakes railway construction, or guarantees profits out of public revenues, the concern is never as paying as when undertaken by private companies on their own risk. And so it happens that the entire railway system in India has resulted, not in profit, but in a total loss of forty million pounds sterling to the revenues of India. This loss has added to the public debt, and the taxpayers of India are paying, year after year, a heavy tax as interest on the debt thus piled up. During the last year there was no loss, because the railway earned much by conveying vast quantities of food grains to the famine-stricken provinces. What was a wide-spread calamity for the people was a gain to the railway. We all hope the famine will not last long; and I much fear the profits of the railways will disappear with the famine. In any case it is extremely doubtful if the Indian railways will ever make sufficient profits to wipe off the past loss of forty millions; and generations of Indian taxpayers will continue to bear the burden of taxation in consequence of this loss.

The total length of railways in India open to traffic by the end of 1898 was 22,500 miles. In that year the Indian Famine Commission stated in their published report that the lines required for famine-protection purposes had ben completed, and that preference should be given to irrigation works in the future. The advice was unheeded. There is a continuous pressure put on the Indian Government by capitalists and speculators for the construction of fresh railway lines out of the Indian revenues. And thus in spite of the advice of the Famine Commission of 1898 and the earlier Commission of 1898, the Indian Government has shewn more activity in the construction of railways than in irrigation works. The total length of railways open to traffic up to the end of 1900 was 25,000 miles.

The railway system does not add one single blade of corn to the food supply of the country, while irrigation works double the food supply, save crops, and prevent famines. Nevertheless, while 225 millions sterling have been spent on railways, only 25 millions have been spent on irrigation works. Irrigation works are either canals or storage tanks or wells. Canals are only possible in level tracts of the country, along the basin of large rivers. Storage tanks and wells are possible everywhere. During a century and a half of British rule the whole country could have been covered with irrigation works. All Provinces, all districts, all villages could have been protected against the effect of droughts. The food supply of India could have been increased and made constant; famines and deaths could have been absolutely prevented; loss of revenue could have been obviated. But by a fatal unwisdom and want of foresight, railways have been fostered and irrigation neglected in India. Out of 200 million acres of cultivated land in India not much over 20 millions are protected by irrigation works. Many of these works are the works of old Hindu Rajas and Mahometan Governors which have been preserved up to date. If you read Dr. Francis Buchanan's narrative of his journey from Madras through Mysore to Malabar—performed just a hundred years ago—you will find mention of old canals and storage tanks, made and maintained by the old Hindu and Mahometan rulers, in every part of their dominions. In spite of their frequent wars, in spite of their rude systems of government, they knew the value of irrigation works. If the more enlightened British Government had followed their example in this respect, they could have covered the whole of India with irrigation works within a hundred years, and they could have made famines impossible under British rule. Let us hope they will take the lesson to heart to-day; that they will henceforth devote all the available resources of the Indian Empire to irrigation works, so that famines will be impossible 20 or 30 years hence.

III.—Industries and Manufactures.

I have dwelt so long on agriculture because agriculture is the one national industry of India at the present day. Four-fifths of the population of India depend upon this one industry. Other industries flourished in India in past centuries, but the history of those industries under British rule is a melancholy one; many of them have declined and some have perished altogether. If you read the account of India in the 17th century written by the eminent Frenchman Francois Bernier, who resided there many years, you will find that in spite of the rude and arbitrary administration of those days, the people of India were a great manufacturing nation, and exported vast quantities of cotton and silk fabrics to the markets of Asia and of Europe. And if you read the statistical account of Eastern India, recorded a hundred years ago by Dr. Francis Buchanan and edited by Montgomery Martin, you will find that about one-half the women population of India found employment in spinning and weaving in those days, and earned something from day to day and from year to year, which they added to the earnings of their husbands, their fathers, or their brothers. It is a lamentable fact that practically the whole of this industry has died out in India, and the profits from this industry are lost to the people. It first declined under the illiberal and ungenerous commercial policy of England in the early part of the nineteenth century, when prohibitive duties were imposed on Indian manufactures exported to Europe, while English manufactures were imported into India almost duty-free.

"It is a melancholy instance," writes Horace Hayman Wilson, the well-known historian of India, "of the wrong done to India by a country on which she has become dependent. It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. . . . . British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty, and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms."

Later in the century, the prohibitive duties were abolished, after they had done their fatal work. Hand-looms were replaced all over the world by steam, and steam-mills were started in Calcutta and in Bombay. They prospered for a time, but the imposition of an excise duty on the production of Indian mills in recent years has greatly interfered with their success. It is a duty unknown in any other part of the civilised world, which hampers our infant steam industry, and makes it difficult for us to compete with our great Asiatic competitors, Japan and China. It is an unwise and illiberal tax by which the British Government disables its British subjects in India from competing on equal terms with other Asiatic nations in the markets of the world.

What has been said about the spinning and weaving industry of India applies to some extent to other old Indian industries. Dyeing and the manufactures of dyes, tanning and leather work, working in iron and other metals, the weaving of shawls and carpets, of muslins and brocades, the manufacture of paper and stationery articles—all have declined. Millions of the Indian population who made a livelihood from these industries are now compelled to turn to agriculture as the one remaining source of their subsistence; and responsible statesmen in the present day, in the House of Commons and outside, are trying to think out how they can undo the mischief done in the past, and again diversify Indian industries. I have myself, during the many years of my service under the Indian Government, visited villages and towns which were once the homes of flourishing communities of weavers—those who produced that famous Indian muslin which was once the wonder of Europe. Those villages are now deserted and desolate; the great lakes excavated in the olden times are silted up; the temples and religious edifices are in decay; the streets are covered with jungle; and the old weaver families have migrated elsewhere to seek a scanty subsistence, and their old ancestral villages know them not.

Gentlemen, you hear very little in this country of this decline of the old national industries of India. Your attention is naturally attracted to those industries only in which British capital is employed. You read of tea and coffee, of indigo and jute, of coal mines and gold mines, which are worked by British companies. We wish well to all these industries, for they give employment to hundreds of thousands of Indian labourers. But you cannot improve the condition of the people of India without fostering their own industries, carried on by themselves, in their towns and villages. You cannot add to the wealth of the Indian people except by wise legislation, tending to promote and help their own national undertakings. And unless you improve the material condition of the people of India, they will be but poor customers of your own commodities. Our interests and yours are closely allied, and not divergent. If our manufactures were revived, and industrial prosperity once more restored to India, the three hundred million people of India could become the largest customers of your manufactures. But if they remain poor, resourceless, starving agriculturists, all your efforts to increase the consumption of your goods in India will utterly fail. India ought to be the greatest market for British goods; India could be so, if her people were prosperous under British rule.

IV.—Trade.

Under the present circumstances of the people of India, your imports into India show no rapid improvement. The average annual import of merchandise into India, most of which was from Great Britain, was 708 millions of rupees, or 47 million pounds, during the five years ending in 1894. In the succeeding five years ending in 1899 the average annual import into India was 763 millions of rupees or 49 million pounds. An export of

49 million pounds to a population of 300 millions means a consumption of 3s. per head of the population. If the people of India consumed your goods at the rate of 5s. or 6s. a year per head of population—and this is a moderate estimate even for a poor Asiatic nation—your exports into India would be doubled, and you would carry on a trade with India exceeding your trade with any other country in the world. Therefore, I say that your interests and those of the people of India are closely allied and not divergent. It is not by restrictive excise duties on the manufactures of India, nor by draining her resources, that Great Britain can gain in the long run. It is by making the population of India prosperous that your trade with India can prosper.

V.—Finances and the Economic Drain.

Gentlemen, I have spoken to you of the agriculture and the Land Tax of India, of her railways and irrigation works, of her industries and trade. I have only one word to add about the financial administration of India. The net revenues of India for the current year have been estimated at 42 millions sterling. Roughly speaking you can say that 20 millions out of this comes from Land Revenue, 20 millions from other taxes including Salt, and two millions from Opium. In other words, the trades and industries of the country bring little revenue, because the trades and industries are on the decline—one half the revenue of the country is tax on land and tax on salt, and is raised from the food of the poor. If you examine the figures thus closely, you will find how little reason there is for congratulation on the increase of revenues in India; that increase does not mean increasing prosperity, but only an oppressively increasing taxation on the food supply of the people. Twenty-six years ago, our present Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, was Secretary of State for India, and condemned in the strongest terms this undue taxing of the food of the people. He wrote in 1876:—

"So far as it is possible to change the Indian system, it is desirable that the cultivator should pay a smaller proportion of the whole national charge. It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts where capital is scarce. . . . . The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the part where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it."

These remarks of Lord Salisbury apply with greater force than they did 26 years ago. You are bleeding the agricultural population of India at a time when they are suffering from repeated, continuous, and wide-spread famines; and you are exporting a larger portion of that revenue out of India without a direct equivalent to-day, than you did 26 years ago. You are draining India annually of ten millions sterling for what are called "Home Charges"; while the total of charges which India has to remit annually to this country without a direct equivalent is nearer twenty millions! Do you think that any country can prosper under such a system of finance? Do you think Great Britain or the United States, or Germany or France or any other country could prosper if an amount nearly equal to one half of her annual revenues was sent out of the country, year after year, to be spent in a foreign country? Do you think England is doing justice to India under a financial arrangement through which the food of twenty millions of people in India is annually sent away to England without a direct equivalent?

I have said the net revenue of India for the current year is estimated at 42 millions. The expenditure, roughly speaking, is this: 17 millions for the Army, 17 millions for the Civil services, and 8 millions more for other charges. Of all these three heads the cost of the Army is felt to be most unjust and oppressive, because the great army maintained in India is not merely for the defence of India but for the defence of Great Britain's possessions in Asia and in Africa. 30,000 troops were lately sent out of India to China and to South Africa; and this proves beyond a doubt that the Indian Army is maintained as much for Imperial purposes as for India. That being so, it is only just and fair that Great Britain should pay a portion of the cost of the army maintained in India, and not try to run her empire on the cheap by throwing the whole cost of the Army on the un-represented and famine-stricken population of India.

VI.—Famines and their Remedies.

Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you for listening so patiently and with so much interest to this account of the economic condition of India. It is a subject of the gravest importance; I do not think there is a question of graver import connected with any part of the British Empire than the present condition of India. Called upon to deal with the subject within the limits of one paper, I should have but ill discharged my duty if I had merely gleaned some facts and figures from official reports, and placed them before you without explaining their real significance, and their real bearing on the condition of the people of India. Great Britain can look back on the past history of Indian administration—if not with unalloyed satisfaction—at least with legitimate pride. If blunders have been committed in the past, much good work too has been well and honestly done. Great Britain has restored peace and security of property to the vast population of India after a century of disorder and disturbance. Great Britain has introduced into India Western methods of education which have had the happiest results among an ancient and intellectual people. And if Great Britain has too hastily and unwisely swept aside some of our old self-governing institutions, she is making us familiar with newer methods of enlightened administration. These are results which we can contemplate with just pride and a sincere satisfaction; but there are matters in which the success of British rule has not been so conspicuous, and we cannot honestly feel the same satisfaction in contemplating the economic condition of the people of India in the present day. No impartial observer in India, no unprejudiced critic in this country, can think of the wretched and almost universal poverty of the vast population of India without a feeling of commiseration and sorrow, or can read of the frequent and fatal famines of that country without a feeling of pain and of humiliation. These are facts which tell their own tale, and roseate pictures of Indian prosperity, so often painted and so sedulously circulated, convince no one, and deceive no one. To you, such representations of Indian prosperity appear like an endeavour to conceal defects in administration which should be remedied and not concealed; to the mass of my countrymen, who live in a chronic state of poverty, of which you have no conception, such roseate pictures, painted in this country, appear like an unfeeling mockery of their misfortunes! The evil is undoubtedly there: Englishmen and Englishwomen desire to know the reasons of the frequent and fatal famines in the past; and they desire also to see no more of them in the future. Therefore, standing before you to-night to speak of the economic condition of my country, I have sought to lay before you, as clearly as I could within my brief limits, the causes of this undoubted evil, and the remedies which are needed. Moderate the Land Tax within reasonable and intelligible limits; extend irrigation works all over India; help to revive the industries and manufactures of the people; reduce the financial drain which is impoverishing India; and admit the people themselves into some reasonable share in the control of the administration of their own concerns; and you will hear as little of famines in India in the future, as you hear of famines in Great Britain or famines in the city of Glasgow. An Empire has its responsibilities as well as its glory; and the happiness and advancement of the people of India are the highest responsibilities of Great Britain and her most glorious mission in the East.

III.—PROFESSOR MURISON ON EDUCATION, THE PRESS, SELF-GOVERNMENT, AND GENERAL PROGRESS.

[Special Report.]

The third and final Lecture of the course on India was delivered by Professor Murison at the Philosophical Institution, on Friday, September 6. Professor Geddes occupied the chair. Professor Murison said:—

There may not unnaturally seem to be great temerity on my part in attempting to discuss large questions of Indian policy and administration; for I have never been in India. Sir John Jardine, the first lecturer of this course, is one of the many Scotsmen that have done their main life-work with distinction in the service of the Government in India: he is an experieneed administrator; he has adorned the Bench of the High Court. Mr. Romesh Dutt, our second lecturer, is a Bengali, who can look back on a career of distinction unequalled by any other Native member of the Indian Civil Service. Both my colleagues are practically conversant to the finger-tips with all the questions they have discussed before you: they have been decorated for their achievements. I, on the contrary, have never seen India; and I feel bound to mark this deep contrast, however it may be held to disqualify me.

Yet, I must also remind you, we who stay at home are under cogent obligation to do our best to ascertain the facts, and to form conclusions, in respect of all questions of importance in the government of India. The responsibility for India—incomparably the heaviest political responsibility in the world at this moment—lies on the British people—lies on you and me; and, since we can neither escape from this dread responsibility nor yet go to India to see with our own eyes how our representatives act in our name, we must even do what we may to find out the truth from such information as may be accessible. Like yourselves, therefore—or at any rate like most of you—I am simply an enquirer; and, as such, I represent an attitude towards Indian affairs that it seems well to include in the present survey. I may remark, by the way, that the Secretary of State for India himself has never set foot in India. True, he has a Council to aid him; but so have we all—in the multitude of official publications, in the piles of books on every aspect of British-Indian rule, in the weekly budget of Indian newspapers mailed to this country, and in the conversation of experienced friends both British and Indian.

My confidence tends to rise when I think of the closeness of interest between Scotsmen and India. I do not forget the generous response that Glasgow made to India's appeal from the depths of her distress in famine and in plague. I am thinking more of the large proportion of statesmen and administrators—to say nothing of men of business, and men of war—that Scotland has sent to India. We have sent her Governors-General—Minto, the great and imperious Dalhousie, and the Elgins, father and son. We have sent her Governors: such as Elphinstone and Malcolm at Bombay, and your townsman Munro at Madras. We have contributed far more than our national quota also in the higher of the subordinate offices. And, as there are no doubt some Irishmen among those that do me the honour to be present to-night, I will add that the greatest British administrator in India at this hour is an Irishman—Sir Antony MacDonnell. I do not know if all of you are aware that one of the strongest of the Governors-General once had the honour of representing Glasgow in the House of Commons—Lord William Bentinck; or that another great statesman, who succeeded Lord William as Acting-Governor-General, only just missed being his successor also in the representation of Glasgow—Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe. It would be easy to single out numerous strong threads of connexion between India and Scotland, and in particular between

India and Glasgow; but I have probably indicated enough to justify my increasing confidence in what seemed at first a rather incongruous position.

How much I need your indulgence will at once be obv[illegible] to anyone that thinks for a moment of the magnitude of each [illegible] four subjects that have been prescribed to me. I can but touch on a few points, and offer but a few incidental comments. I shall be satisfied if I leave you with a keener desire to look into these and other Indian problems for yourselves.

EDUCATION.

First, I have to speak of Education in India, and I know that will interest you in spite of necessarily sketchy treatment. I said just now that Scotland had contributed a very full quota to the personnel of Indian administration. Why? In the first place, no doubt, through political influence; but on the whole because of the high appreciation of education among us. Is there anything more striking to a thoughtful visitor to this great city than the hundred great schools dotted all over it, and the venerable and famous University, keeping watch and ward over all? There are some of the very corner stones of your prosperity. How, then, is it with India?

It is just 300 years since Queen Elizabeth granted the first Charter to "the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." John Company traded down to 1833; but in intervals of trading he had fought, conquered, and annexed so diligently that in little more than a century and a half he became a great territorial magnate, and the British Legislature put its hand into the government of the country. As yet there had been no responsibility or occasion for the Company to stand forth as educator. But it is to be remarked that the first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, established, of his own motion and at his own charges, in the first year after his appointment (1782), the first college in Bengal—for the study of Arabic and Persian literature and Mahommedan theology, "to qualify the Mahommedans of Bengal for the public service, chiefly in the courts of justice, and to enable them to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government." Nine years later (1791), a similar College was established at Benares, "designed to cultivate the laws, literature, and religion of the Hindus, and specially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European judges." The chaplains and the missionaries had been early on the scene—the latter, as Mountstuart Elphinstone said in his famous Minute of March, 1824, "a body of men who have more zeal and more time to devote to the object than any other class of Europeans can be expected to possess"; and among private individuals special mention must be made of David Hare, an unlettered Calcutta watchmaker, whose zeal set in motion a project that culminated (1817) in the Hindu College of Calcutta—now the Presidency College. The first attempts at education were for the most part necessarily conducted in the vernacular languages, and chiefly by private effort. It was not till the Charter Act of 1813 that the Government took any specific action towards education. That statute (53 George III, cap. 155, sec. 43) enacted that "a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees (£10,000) in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." In the next Charter Act (1833) the sum was raised to 10 lakhs (say £100,000); but meantime the one lakh, though "set apart," was not "applied" for ten years to come (1823). By this time the conflict between the advocates of English education and of vernacular education was intensifying through the spread of English, and through the insufficiency of the vernacular material. A trenchant Minute of Macaulay (February 2, 1835) is said—though I doubt it—to have turned the scale. However, within a month after the date of Macaulay's Minute, Lord Wm. Bentinck issued a decisive Minute (March 7, 1835), directing that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education "be henceforth employed in imparting to the Native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language, but declaring that there was no intention "to abolish any college or school of Native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords." The Court of Directors had consistently spoken in favour of indigenous education, and Lord William had really struck, not at the living, but at the dead, languages—Sanskrit and Arabic.

I must content myself with mere mention of the founding of scholarships in the principal Government institutions by Lord Auckland; the intentions of Lord Hardinge (Minute, October 10, 1844) that "in every possible case" a preference should be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to pupils both of the Government and the private schools; the increasing influence of missionaries, like Dr. Duff at Calcutta and Dr. Wilson at Bombay; the far-sighted efforts of Mr. Thomasson in the North-Western Provinces, where (Government of the North-Western Provinces to Government of India, November 18, 1846) "on an average less than five per cent. of the youth who are of an age to attend schools obtain any instruction, and that instruction which they do receive is of a very imperfect kind"; and the establishment of such special institutions as the Calcutta Medical College, the Rurki Engineering College, and Sleeman's Industrial School at Jubbulpore for converting ex-Thugs (professional stranglers and robbers) and their children into artisans. Such developments testify to the continuous growth of the idea of education. I go forward at once to the great despatch of 1854 (July 19), which has been justly called "the Charter of Education in India," and which the Government of India itself in 1882 spoke of as "the basis of the educational policy of India." But I must first ask you to note that 72 years—three-quarters of a century—elapsed between the date of Warren Hastings's first college and the date of "the basis of the educational policy of India," and that the delay suggests the necessity of more explanation than is to be found in military operations, annexations, and expansion of administrative work.

The Court of Directors very frankly acknowledged their moral obligations. In paragraph 2 of the Despatch of 1854 they recognise it as "one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the Natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge." In paragraph 7 they "emphatically declare that the education we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe—in short, European knowledge"; and this both by the English language "in the higher branches," and by the vernacular languages "to the great mass of the people" (paragraph 97). The fact is that hitherto the instruction had been given to a very limited class in higher and middle institutions; now it was to be extended to the masses in primary schools. The Directors admit that "very little has been hitherto done in Bengal for the education of the mass of the people" (paragraph 87), and that, while Bombay shows rather better (paragraph 94), Madras has been left "chiefly to missionary effort" (para. 96). The machinery of superintendence and direction, they say (para 15), "has hitherto been exercised in our Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay by Boards and Councils of Education composed of European and Native gentlemen, who have devoted themselves to this duty with no other remuneration than the consciousness of assisting the progress of learning and civilisation." Now education is to be committed to a new department of the Government.

Universities were to be instituted at the several Presidency towns—unhappily on the meagre model of the University of London—mere examining bodies; the education being given in colleges affiliated to the University. The further main proposals may be expressed in the Secretary of State's summary set out in a despatch to the Government of India, dated April 7, 1859: "the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a high order, and the increase of their number when necessary; the establishment of additional zillah or middle schools; increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including indigenous schools already existing throughout the country; and finally, the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid, under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools."

I think it well to cite the words of the despatch of 1854 on two or three points:—

(1) Paragraph 69 says: "Our wish is that the profession of schoolmaster may, for the future, afford inducements to the Natives of India such as are held out in other branches of the public service."

(2) Paragraph 72: "We have always been of opinion that the spread of education in India will produce a greater efficiency in all branches of administration by enabling you to obtain the services of intelligent and trustworthy persons in every department of Government.

(3) Paragraph 98: "We desire it should be authoritatively communicated to the principal officers of every district in India that henceforth they are to consider it to be an important part of their duty, not only in that social intercourse with the Natives of India, which we always learn with pleasure that they maintain, but also with all the influence of their high position, to aid in the extension of education and to support the inspectors of schools by every means in their power."

Such is a brief outline of the main points of the great Despatch of 1854. You will naturally watch to see how far the ideals of the Directors were subsequently fulfilled.

We may next proceed to the Education Commission of 1882 (February 3), which sat under the presidency of our distinguished countryman, the late Sir Wm. Hunter, to review the progress made in the 28 years from 1854, and to enquire how far the superstructure corresponded to the design. You will be surprised to hear that though such an enquiry had been instituted by the Secretary of State in 1859—23 years before—yet "circumstances" prevented the preparation of any complete or comprehensive report. What "circumstances"? I cannot tell you; but probably enough there was nothing satisfactory to report. The most prominent feature of the Despatch of 1854 was the aspiration to provide for elementary education; and therefore the Commission of 1882 had for its principal object an enquiry into "the present state of elementary education throughout the Empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved" (paragraph 4 of the appointing Resolution). The means of such extension and improvement were, however, to be looked at in the light of the most prominent factor in Indian administration. This was impressed upon the Commission in these terms (para. 5): "The resources at the disposal of the Government, whether Imperial, Provincial, or Local, are, and must long remain, extremely limited in amount, and the result is, not only that progress must necessarily be gradual, but that, if satisfactory progress is to be made at all, every available private agency must be called into action to relieve and assist the public funds in connexion with every branch of Public Instruction." I need only say generally that, though the Commission put a clever face on the situation, and produced a big Report of great historical value, the results were very far from satisfactory as the outcome of a full quarter of a century's work. It will be more to our purpose if I present

some details of the educational position at the present time. In order to avoid the disturbing effect of famine and pestilence, I will go back a few years, and I will be merciful with my statistics.

Let us look for a moment at the census returns of 1891. The total population accounted for in the educational columns was 261,838,926. Of these, 118,819,408 males and 127,726,925 females were illiterate—could not read or could not write: that is to say 89 per cent. of the males, and 99.5 per cent. of the females. In other words 11 males in 100, and one female in 200 were all that could read or write. And the situation was even worse than the figures showed, for more than half of those that could read or write belonged to a few classes comprising less than 19 per cent. of the whole population. It is but fair to say that the State Department of Public Instruction makes higher returns. But we shall see that, as the Encyclopædia sagely remarks, "much remains to be done."

Excluding the Native States, and confining ourselves to British India proper, where the Government can directly and irresistibly do just what it likes, we find that at the end of the official year 1896-97 there was an area of 1,074,268 square miles, with 1,565 towns and 572,873 villages, containing 118,266,209 males and 114,223,813 females. To every 100 towns and villages there were only 25.08 educational institutions for males, and 1.39 for females. There are but five Universities—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Allahabad, the three first established in 1857, and the others in 1882 and 1887, all mere examining bodies, except Lahore, which teaches also; and how little they cost Government may be gathered from the fact that all of them (except Lahore) are self-supporting and even accumulating reserve funds from fees. The teaching for them is done in Arts Colleges and Professional Colleges. There were (in 1896-97) 120 Arts Colleges with 14,420 students, five of them being for girls, of whom there was an attendance of 87. There were 40 Professorial Colleges for males with 4,363 students (43 of them girls). There were 5,267 Secondary Schools, with 535,155 pupils—including 440 schools with 40,023 girls. There were 103,920 primary schools with 3,209,825 pupils—including 6,039 schools with 317,561 girls. Add nearly 25,000 in training schools and special schools; and add also a good half million whom private institutions profess to educate. In the result we have 152,025 institutions containing 4,356,870 pupils (including 402,158 girls). Taking the population of school-going age at 15 per cent. of the whole population, the male scholars are 22.29 per cent. of the male population; the female scholars are 2.34 per cent. of the female population; and the total scholars are 12.49 of the total population. The Provinces vary exceedingly. Burma shows the highest percentage, 22.3—thanks to an indigenous system of instruction almost universal among the Buddhist population, there being few villages without a school. Bombay shows 16.6; Madras, 15.4; Bengal, 15.2; while the Punjab gives only 8.5, the Central Provinces (where there is a widely scattered aboriginal population, with only one school to 17 villages), 7.7, and the North-Western Provinces, only five, their indigenous system having received little encouragement, there being but one school to nine villages, and only one child in 20, and one girl in 200, at school. Yet these poor figures are better than the figures of 10 years before: in that time, the percentage of boys rose from 19.3 to 22.3; girls, from 1.7 to 2.3; boys and girls together, from 10.7 to 12.5. So in five years (1891-92—1896-97), the expenditure on education rose 15 per cent.

In 1896-97, the total expenditure on public instruction—from provincial revenues, local funds, and municipal funds (public sources), and from fees, subscriptions, endowments, etc. (private sources)—was Rs.3,52,44,900 (say £2,349,600). More than half of this sum (52.4 per cent., as against 46.6 ten years before), came from private sources, and little less than a third (30.1 per cent.) came from fees; while Provincial revenues gave 27 per cent. (a decrease of close upon 7 per cent. in 10 years), local funds 16.3, and municipal funds 4.3. The distinct tendency is to relieve the public funds, and to increase the private contributions, and notably the income from fees. Between 1891-92 and 1896-97, the cost per pupil rose from 2 annas 1 pie (2 1-16d.) to 2 annas 5 pies (2 5-16d.)—and of the four pies (¼d.) of increase, 3 came from private funds, and only one from public funds. The Directors of education in the various Provinces all point out how much might be done if they only had the money to do it. Yet the public funds—Provincial, Local, and Municipal—contribute only a little over a crore and a half—just over one million pounds (Rs.1,67,56,650, equal £1,117,373). The unnecessary and useless military expenditure on the Forward Policy, if saved and invested at 3 per cent., would have provided an annual endowment of three times as much.

Now what of the quality of the education actually given? In 1896-97, the Arts Colleges (136) sent up to the First Arts and equivalent examinations of the Universities 6,848 candidates, of whom only 2,811 passed—say 40 per cent., or 2 out of 5—which seems to show great weakness in the Colleges, or else much arbitrariness in the examinations, if not indeed both faults. Of the successful candidates 2,315 were Hindus and 183 Mahometans—12 to 1. The Hindus are about four times as numerous as the Mahometans; so that the Mahometans have a lee-way of more than 3 to 1 to make up. The lee-way is still greater in the higher examinations. For B.A., there were 3,222 candidates, of whom 1,365, less than half, passed. For M.A. there were 302 candidates, of whom 132 (again less than half) passed. Thus, on the strongest (the literary) side, there were only 302 M.A.'s to 2,811 entrants—little more than 1 in 10. For B.Sc. there were only 28 candidates, of whom 15 passed. The scientific education, then, is nowhere in comparison with the literary; and it will take a long time to redress the balance. Yet there is nothing more urgent than to reduce the memory work, and to increase the scientific and thoughtful element. The Oriental Colleges give their strength to Sanskrit—purely literary and philosophical work, not to be discouraged, yet wholly out of relation to the workaday world: Persian and Arabic are far out of the running. In the Colleges for Professorial training, the principal subject is Law—for in Law there is an open career. For LL.B. there were 851 candidates, of whom only 334 passed; for LL.M., 178, of whom 77 passed. Medicine is still under a certain ban of social and religious feeling. While 129 out of 193 candidates passed the preliminary scientific examination, only eight took M.B., and only one took M.D. Yet Indians make very skilful surgeons. The figures of engineering, teaching, and agriculture—all most pressing subjects—are hardly worth mentioning. How little, then, has the higher education as yet touched directly the multitudinous population! The expenditure on secondary education is still higher than the expenditure on primary education, though much of what is called secondary is very primary. And the primary is merely reading, writing, and arithmetic, and sometimes a little mensuration. Mr. Baines, in his Census Report, observes fairly enough that the main points appear to be: "first, the insignificant number of pupils that carry instruction beyond the rudiments; secondly, the remarkably unprepared state in which the minute remainder appear for matriculation; and, lastly, the relatively infinitesimal number that obtain a University degree."

You will have observed that the Court of Directors and some of the ablest of our officials have looked to expanded education for an increasing supply of more highly qualified Natives for the Government service. What has come of this expectation? The Law is the only open career, and there the Natives have held their own, both at the Bar and on the Bench. In the Government service, however, there has generally been reluctance to give them free advancement; and recently the repression has been systematic and severe. The House of Commons (June 2, 1893) passed a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service in India and in England; but the Government of India has persistently declined to give effect to it. In 1896, new rules for the Thomasson Civil Engineering College at Rurki—the best engineering school in India—shut out statutory Natives of India, while leaving the door open to Europeans and Eurasians. Last year Cooper's Hill College, which was established to supply officers for the Public Works Department in India, was closed to all Indians except two per annum. "Recently," said Lord George Hamilton, "there was a rush of Indians to the Cooper's Hill College" (August 7, 1900); and he might have added that in the preceding December examination the men that headed the first and third year lists were both Indians. Evidently Indians are not wanted there. Again, in the end of last year the entrants to the Engineering School of the Poona College of Science were suddenly limited to 40. Why? For lack of accommodation, it was said. Yet the Governor of Bombay, in his Convocation address, had just said to the University: "I hail with peculiar pleasure every form of encouragement that is given to induce students to turn their attention to the scientific study of agriculture and engineering, with the view of promoting practical efficiency therein."

In 1897 Professor Gokhale, of Poona, now a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, laid before the Welby Commission on Indian Expenditure an analysis of the Civil List of the Bombay Presidency. What did it show? It showed "the practical monopoly of all the higher posts by Europeans." Again, on December 16, 1899, the Indian Association, whose president is Mr. A. M. Bose, a Cambridge Wrangler, lately representative of Calcutta University on the Bengal Legislative Council, and President of the 14th Indian National Congress, submitted to the Government of India "a Representation on the Position of Natives of India in the Minor Civil Services," taking the facts from the Bengal Civil List. The results are just as bad as in Bombay.

> "There are whole departments from the higher offices of which Indians are altogether excluded. The higher offices in the Opium, the Forest, the Survey, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Public Works, and the Police are the monopoly of others than the children of the soil. In respect of these great departments, the Proclamation of the Sovereign and the recommendations of the Public Service Commission remain a dead letter. The Public Service Commission submitted its Report in December, 1887. The Commission made definite and distinct recommendations. Nearly twelve years have now elapsed since those recommendations were made, and no serious effort has been made by the Government to carry them out."

For instance, in the Forest Department, out of 24 appointments only two are held by Indians; in the Customs, one out of 33 superior posts; in Opium, 8 (all in the lower grade) out of 77; in the Salt Department, one out of 29 superior officers, and 18 out of 81 inferior officers.

In the Education Department itself, the Indians are more and more painfully repressed. Down to 1880 the higher posts were open to Natives on precisely the same terms as to Europeans; but in 1880 the entering pay of Natives for exactly the same work was reduced to two-thirds the pay of Europeans; and, in 1889, to one-half. In 1896 (July 23) there was "a reorganisation of the Education Department." The Graded Service was abolished; the Education Department was divided into (1) the Superior, and (2) the Subordinate Service; and the Superior Service was divided into (a) the Indian Educational Service, to be recruited from England, and (b) the Provincial Educational Service to be recruited in India. The Resolution said: "In future Natives of India who were desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service." So the Indians are practically excluded from the higher branch. The Resolution said "usually"; and Lord George Hamilton stated in the House (March 3, 1898) that "there is nothing to prevent the selection of Natives of India" for the higher branch.

(To be concluded next week.)

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